

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

In accordance with requirements of Section 603, Public Law 402, the United States Advisory Commission on Information submits herewith its 23d Report to the Congress on the information, educational and cultural programs administered by the United States Information Agency.



Chairman

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THE COMMISSION

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FOREWORD

In this time of difficulty abroad and disorder at home, there is need of a responsible national instrument to communicate to the world the enduring reality and purpose of the United States of America. The foresight of the Forties has given us one. The challenge of the Sixties—and of the years beyond—must be to match the means to the mission. This Report seeks to advance that aim.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

NEW DIRECTIONS. Both mission and organization of United States public affairs programs abroad, evolving over the past two decades, have taken their lead from the experience of World War II and the early post-war years. While the world moved on. Recent history suggests new tacks be taken, that new forms be shaped to changing functions, new priorities assigned to changing orders of urgency: that our involvement be less with media and more with audiences, that we be less a spokesman and more a counsellor, less a publicist and more an educator. (Page 11)

NEW DIMENSIONS. Public Law 402 directed that the United States undertake information, educational and cultural activity overseas. Responsibility for these allied missions has devolved in varying degree to the President, the Department of State and the United States Information Agency (USIA). It is time to draw the reins together; logically, this Commission believes, within a restructured USIA or a new agency reflecting those enlarged dimensions. (Page 12)

NEW DUTIES. Recognizing that "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind" is not only a basic tenet of American doctrine but an injunction of 20th Century diplomacy, that Agency should be assigned a role as an influence on foreign policy as well as an instrument of it. Improved structural liaison with both the President and the Department of State should be effected to make that role both possible and effective. (Page 14)

NEW EMPHASES. Agency activities abroad should reflect the fact that, increasingly, the message is better delivered by hand than by handout. No longer can the U.S. expect communications about itself to be picked up intact or *in toto* by the media abroad. A greater reliance must be placed on contact: between public affairs officer and writer, between cultural affairs officer and educator, between foreign nationals and the U.S. itself. (Page 16)

Thus the broad strokes of what this Commission sees as "An Agenda for the Future." There are fine lines, too. Among them are these:

CULTURE AND EDUCATION. Foremost among USIA's long run activities are those in the associated areas of cultural and educational affairs. They are areas which have received relatively short shrift over the years, and to which this Commission feels the Agency must pay increased due. This report offers several suggestions as to how it might do so. (Page 17)

EXCHANGE. The record shows the United States lagging dangerously behind the worldwide competition in educational and cultural exchange activity. Appropriations, which should have risen with need, have long been held to an inadequate plateau. USIA must grant increasing attention to this area as it shifts its focus from the short run to the long. (Page 19)

LIBRARIES AND INFORMATION CENTERS. This area of Agency activity, too, has been subject to increasing neglect. We consider ill-advised those decisions which have made libraries and information centers vulnerable to the economy ax, and repeat our urging that the course be reversed. (Page 20)

INDIGENOUS ORGANIZATIONS. It is often possible to find willing hands among foreign nationals in helping effect better relationships between the United States and their countries. The indigenous organization should be the object of increasing attention by the Agency overseas. (Page 21)

REPRESENTATION. An increasing level of contact calls also for a sizable increase in the representation funds—the expense allowances—available to Agency officers charged with personal contact. Representation allowances are now only half those necessary to carry out even an inadequate level of personal contact, suggesting that a doubling of current budgets is a minimum target for the future. (Page 21)

FOCUS. There is no one best way to reach all of USIA's worldwide audiences; hence, in the Commission's view, production of informational material—now originated largely in Washington—should be modified in favor of regional or country production programs. (Page 23)

CONTRACTING OUT. The Commission believes USIA should make increased use of the outside contract in acquiring media material, both taking advantage of this nation's conspicuously abundant communications talent for that part of its output which remains domestically produced, and seeking out local expertise for an increasing production commitment overseas. (Page 25)

FOREIGN JOURNALISTS. An extensive service opportunity for USIA exists among the increasing number of foreign correspondents stationed in the United States. The Agency should assist those already here in arranging contact with American news sources in both the public and private sectors, and should encourage more of their number to visit as well as work in the United States. (Page 26)

VOICE OF AMERICA. A stalwart of the United States' overseas information effort for over 25 years, VOA will continue to bear a principal part of the burden in communicating America to the rest of the world. But change is an inevitable companion of the technologies with which it must exist and of the audience attitudes with which it must deal, and the organization must keep abreast of both. In technique and in content, the Voice must make change a constant. (Page 27)

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS. Canada's EXPO '67 of the recent past, and Japan's EXPO '70 of the not-far-distant future, have and do offer the United States unique opportunity to showcase itself in important world forums. The Commission commends the Agency for past performance and encourages its continued participation. (Page 28)

The Commission's overview has sought to look both beyond USIA and within it. Its next recommendations are internal.

MANAGEMENT. A career deputy should be instituted. Problems of internal coordination and communication should be remedied. Recognition should be given the fact that USIA's top management requires experience in communications and international affairs as well as skills in administration. (Page 29)

RESEARCH. USIA should accord research its proper priority. It should reestablish an independent research capability which, this Commission feels, has been neglected and misused in the present Agency scheme of things. (Page 30)

PPBS. Caution is indicated before applying too quickly and too rigorously a Program Planning and Budgeting System, originally designed to evaluate hardware, to activities involving opinion, attitudes and ideas. Moreover, research should be assigned a key role in producing valid data for PPBS. (Page 30)

TRAINING. The Commission commends progress in this area. It recommends further that courses in international communications and public affairs be developed, that a "memory bank" of Agency experience be established and that orientation programs be devised for Ambassadors and political officers before they depart for new posts. (Page 32)

PERSONNEL. In the final analysis it will be people who determine the success or failure of USIA's worldwide mission. While the Agency has developed a substantial body of professional expertise, it must accelerate its efforts to find new hands to take over from those nearing the end of their tours and to increase the proficiency level of those in mid-career. (Page 33)

RESPONSE. The Agency has an imperative obligation to assure field officers timely policy and operational guidance. Its prob-

lem is complicated by the expanding geography and extended day in which it operates. Headquarters staffing and personnel deployment should take into account time zone differentials and the need for rapid transmission of information. (Page 34)

The Commission proposes three recommendations for legislative consideration by the Congress.

A CAREER SERVICE. The Commission commends the Senate for the impetus it has given a career system for Foreign Service Information Officers in passing S. 633, and urges the House of Representatives to carry it forward. (Page 36)

DOMESTIC AVAILABILITY. No recommendation of this Commission's 22d Report received more attention than that urging that "the walls can come down" between America and the product USIA creates about it for distribution overseas. The ensuing months have strengthened the Commission's belief in both the urgency and correctness of this view. We repeat it now. (Page 36)

And finally:

TWENTY YEARS LATER. It is time for a searching reexamination of USIA mission and execution. We recommend, first, that such a study be authorized and, second, that it be accomplished both outside the Agency and beyond the confines of an executive or legislative investigation. It is our view that an independent organization should be retained under contract to conduct not only a detailed inspection of how well USIA functions under its present understanding of its mission, but of how best to reshape that mission to a changing world.

We recommend further that, as there is need for a new look at USIA, so also is there need for reexamination of the role—and indeed the existence—of the Commission on Information. Our mission, too, must be responsive to the times, and we invite Congressional satisfaction of that question. (Page 39)

The 23d Report

United States Advisory Commission on Information

As the last two decades have shrunk our planet, the need for governments to explain, to inform, to educate—in short, to communicate with the people of their fellow nations—has been recognized and acted upon by all major and many lesser powers of the world. The Honorable Dr. Purnendu Kumar Banerjee, Minister of the Embassy of India, gave eloquent testimony to this worldwide phenomenon in a commencement address on “The Role of A Diplomat” at Kansas Wesleyan University on June 5, 1967:

“In these times of non-silent diplomacy public relations in the country of accreditation has become an important weapon in the armory of a diplomat. Often, in democratic societies, influencing or appealing to the people who are potential voters is a useful adjunct to the functions of a diplomat in safeguarding and promoting the interests of his country. While an envoy would certainly find it physically impossible to reach every individual, his sociability, his relations with leaders of the community, and his handling of the press and other media of communication (whose influence in the formulation of ideas and policies is most significant) will go a long way in achieving his purpose . . .

“Diplomacy today has acquired new dimensions. [It] has scaled the wall of sovereignty to cultivate public opinion in the host country. In this the envoy is assisted by a retinue of diplomats [who] go around the country and speak to audiences to explain the viewpoint

of their governments. Every embassy, all over the world, maintains an information department to influence, to educate and to enlighten the people. It tries to have itself photographed from the right angle and put the best foot forward. This is an art and involves hundreds of trivialities which, though in themselves unimportant, assist the cause it seeks to serve."

It was in this spirit that the United States began an experiment in foreign communications predicated on the American doctrine of "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." Its aims were to know and understand these opinions, whenever possible to heed them and to learn from them, when necessary to debate them and, if possible, to affect them. Its instrument was the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948, Public Law 402.

PL 402 was passed because Congress became aroused over the growth of a communist propaganda mechanism inundating the world with attacks against and distortions about the United States. It was to counter this communist propaganda that PL 402 created information and educational exchange services in the Department of State. But after five years of dissidence and difficulty these two services were partially separated. The information program was removed from State, where it had been directed by a General Manager working under the general policy guidance of an Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, and lodged in the newly created (1953) United States Information Agency. Accompanying it was responsibility for the administration of the cultural and educational exchange programs abroad, although policy administration of those programs remained with State in Washington. Subsequently, the cultural and educational exchange programs received broadened authority with passage of the Fulbright-Hays Act in 1961.

Thus it was in response to an ideological challenge now two decades old that the U.S. initiated its information, educational and cultural programs. But in 20 years the world has changed, and so have the worldwide audiences. What was relevant in the

immediate post-war period has been either partly forgotten or never known by a new generation. USIA's objective today must be to discern what aspects of America remain relevant to its new as well as its old audiences around the globe.

The challenge was put well by the USIA career foreign service officer who said:

"How can we, who are such an enigma to him, make the foreigner, who is such an enigma to us, comprehend our goals, motives and intentions? How can we speak to him so that he will understand and believe? That is the major problem of international communication confronting the United States today. What can a nation with a GNP of \$2,700 a year for every one of its citizens possibly say that is meaningful to one whose per capita income is \$50? Or, what is the point of talking about human resource development, when the American index [of education] is nearly twice that of New Zealand, our nearest competitor, and is three times that of the U.S.S.R.? Do our pockets of poverty even have any bearing on that state of poorness that marks the masses of the world?"

"The answer is that American experience does have relevance to the experience of other societies, because the United States today is a laboratory¹ for

¹ This concept received articulate expression in a comment reported by Henry Fairlie in the November 12, 1967, issue of the London Sunday Express:

"A well-known and shrewd Indian recently visited the United States and, at the end of her stay, made by far the best remark about the country which I have yet heard. 'America,' she said, 'is a laboratory.'"

"She explained that every major problem which besets other countries of the world is present in America, but only America has the resources with which to experiment in trying to find solutions."

"Can mass poverty be ended? Only America has the wealth to find out. Can different races live together? Only America can find the answer."

"Her observation was, in fact, a brilliant one. Once one understands

that America is a huge laboratory, it is much easier to understand the situations in which it finds itself."

western civilization in applying knowledge to human problems, a laboratory dependent ultimately on its 5,000 colleges and universities, its 400-500 crucial voluntary societies, its research institutions, businesses, foundations, and government departments for answers to the human resources problems of all nations. Our job is to help others get moving, find a way to apply knowledge to their problems. In this respect, all information is the stuff of change.

"So we are entangled today in the largest communicational venture of all, exerting what leadership we can to help other countries find stable evolutionary patterns of change within the norms of their own cultures.

"Whether 'information' informs is as much a function of the attitudes of the recipient as it is a function of the intentions of the source and the inherent truth of the message. If our truth is to have the force of truth in Indonesia and Ghana and Iran, it must in some way be useful to the peoples of those societies within their own frames of reference. Only under those conditions will what we have to say inform them; but given those conditions, any information will serve to build a bridge of common knowledge, interest and trust between us."

The building of bridges is USIA's principal business.

AN AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE

These are the recommendations of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information on how the nation may best pursue in the future a challenge laid down 20 years in the past. They are based in part on the Commission's own observations and in part on its study of interviews conducted with more than 50 senior officers of the Agency and in the Department of State, including present and former Ambassadors with extensive experience in foreign communications.

New Directions

The mandate of PL 402 is "to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries." After 20 years, there remains confusion about how best to carry it out.

There is uncertainty as to whether greater thrust and emphasis should be placed behind *information* and persuasion or behind *education* and persuasion. As mass media have become less accessible, especially in Western Europe, Japan and in the large metropolitan cities of the world, and as opposition to certain U.S. foreign policies has crystallized, USIA efforts have become less successful—a situation aggravated in some cases by the lack of more sophisticated information materials.

In other instances this confusion has led to a reexamination of the assumption that communication through the mass media can inform and educate, can change minds and alter opinions abroad. Because so many officers have experienced the phenomenon of the "obstinate audience," especially in countries that are either unfriendly to our policy or suspicious of our purpose, they have learned how difficult it is to change opinion and how long it takes even to set the record straight.

Confusion about mission is linked with doubt about the continued efficacy of the instrument of communications, com-

pounded by the fact that while the U.S. has expected so much of this program it has provided it only minimal support. We can never know now, 20 years later, whether a more substantial program would have made a significant difference in disposition toward American policies and intentions in those countries where the effort was not made. We *can* point to the many constructive changes and results in postwar Japan, Germany and Italy—countries which have been accorded saturation information programs.

The Commission believes that in certain parts of the world the information program directed at foreign mass media should be reduced and replaced by a strong personal contact program with those who communicate through these mass media, and that such personal contact with mass media communicators should be supplemented by augmented programs of education and cultural presentations of the highest standards.

New Dimensions

The U.S. Information Agency has succeeded in developing a capability in communicating with foreign peoples. It has developed a solid corps of professionals. It has constructed a worldwide communications apparatus. It has a superior record in executing the foreign policy guidance it receives from the President and the Department of State. And it has worked as an effective member of the Ambassador's team in embassies abroad.

The question of major interest is not whether USIA has done well in the past, but whether it might do better in the future. This Commission thinks it can, particularly in the area of educational and cultural exchange. The continued separation of the exchange programs into United States Information Service (USIS) administration abroad and Department of State administration in Washington has become an anachronism, an anomaly leading to ineffectiveness, excessive bureaucracy, and to an unfortunate diminution in funds for this imperative segment of long-range communications effort overseas. We believe that

division should end; that it is time to draw together into a restructured USIA, or into a new independent agency, the reins leading to our now fractionalized public affairs programs overseas.

The suggestion is not new. The 15th Report of this Commission to Congress (issued March 1960) recommended the consolidation of the Government's information, cultural and general (as distinguished from technical) educational activities into one independent agency.

"The time has come," the Commission said then, "for the U.S. to consolidate all the foreign cultural, educational and information programs in one agency . . . Although U.S. foreign information, education and cultural programs have shown much improvement, their impact, from a total communications point of view, remains difficult to discern when the U.S. information and education program is evaluated country by country. Consolidation of all U.S. foreign communications in one agency will result in more unified and comprehensive planning, more economic use of what are essentially scarce resources, and a cumulative impact that will be more apparent. Previous bureaucratic divisions and differences should now be subordinated to the common purpose of achieving mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries, in this most critical area of international communications."

In its 16th Report (issued January 1961), the Commission summarized for a new Congress and a new Administration some of the major recommendations derived from the Commission's then 12 years of experience with the program. It again included the suggestion for consolidating all information, educational and cultural activities.

What was evident then remains evident now. As USIA continues to expand its educational and cultural activities the need to bring under central direction the disparate operations carried on in State and in the Agency for International Development (AID) has become still more urgent. Planning of country programs would become more effective. Expertise would be

pooled and ideas would be more readily generated and circulated. Plans, policies and operations would no longer be divided. More effective programming of exchangees would be encouraged in the U.S. and more sustained follow-up would be accelerated in the field. It would at long last join together the policies, programs and personnel of the exchange program which have been divided for so many years. And it would increase the likelihood of an appropriation more realistically related to the many tasks that are being neglected and unmet by the U.S. Government.

New Duties

The United States has developed a professional capability in publicizing abroad the U.S. Government's activities, policies and statements dealing with foreign affairs—an important part of the ongoing activities of diplomacy (negotiations, personal contact, meetings, conferences and the like) both here and abroad. It must be continually refined and developed to maintain quality performance.

What has not been achieved with any degree of constancy, quality or quantity is a fertile and creative contribution to the formulation of foreign policy. The fundamental reasons for this continued inadequacy are that:

1. USIA has never developed the muscle to exercise its charter in this area.
2. Most areas of the Department of State have remained uninterested, unreceptive or hostile to the introduction of psychological or public opinion factors into foreign policy considerations.
3. Other agencies of government (Defense, State, Agency for International Development, Commerce, Central Intelligence Agency, Treasury, etc.) are staffed in greater

depth to fulfill a responsibility in the foreign policy area.

4. USIA has not developed a policy input capability based on relevant research.

Thus it has been the "trumpet" function of USIA that has become best accepted and understood by the Congress, Presidents and the Department of State.

The evolving expertise of USIA has suggested yet another arena not contemplated by PL 402 in which it can play an effective role: foreign public relations counseling to other Government agencies. Its mandate for this activity was given by the President in the early 1960's, but has yet to be effected. If USIA is to accomplish this purpose it will need to take three important steps in Washington:

1. It must develop a strong staff with which to support the Director and his deputies in their counseling role. USIA officers are so preoccupied with line duties in providing administrative and program support for officers in the field that they do not now have the time to provide adequate staff support for counseling purposes in Washington. Thus the total U.S. effort loses the benefit of insights available to information and cultural officers whose wide circle of contacts abroad gives them important knowledge of foreign public opinion that few other Embassy officers obtain.
2. To supplement and systematize information acquired by policy and operating staffs, the Agency must begin again to develop an up-to-date research organization which can provide objective data on trends in foreign public opinion (about which more later; see page 30). These data will assist the Director and his staff in providing the counseling called for in USIA's mandate.
3. To place experienced public affairs officers as special as-

sistants to heads of departments and agencies conducting programs with important international implications—not in Offices of Public Information. Rather, they should be positioned to offer counsel at key points and at the highest levels *before* problems reach the communications channels. Domestically-placed, but with sensitivity to foreign opinion, these PAO's should become embedded in the departmental consciousness.

Broadening of the counseling role is as desirable in the field as it is in Washington. The most effective PAO in the Embassy is the one who is an integral part of the Country Team; PAO's and their staffs work not only for the Ambassador but for all members of the Embassy. The reverse relationship is equally important; an effective PAO can persuade other Embassy officers, representing other agencies and functions, to work with his program as he keeps them aware of information opportunities and keeps communication channels open to them.

New Emphases

Most of the Agency's senior officers report that personal contact—especially with journalists but by no means to the exclusion of others—ranks second only to the exchange program in priority and importance. True worldwide, it is especially true in Western Europe, Japan and in the large metropolitan cities of the world.

The primary purpose of this contact is to reach foreign communicators, teachers, students and other important segments of society, to enter into dialogues with them and to establish firm bases for mutual trust and respect. The result is ideally a two-way street.

Although personal contact has always been considered a USIS officer's duty, it has become even more important in those countries where the mass media no longer use materials distributed by foreign governments—conspicuously, those countries

with affluent communications systems well stocked with their own foreign correspondent corps. This does not necessarily hold in the underdeveloped areas of the world, although there, too, suspicion of the handout by a foreign Embassy, irrespective of how friendly it may be, has increased.

The changing role of the media and the ever-rising importance of personal contact have produced new requirements, some already alluded to in this report. USIA should modify its practice and structure both in Washington and in the overseas missions to match these new developments. It should reduce the number of personnel producing worldwide materials (see page 23) and increase funds for outside contracts (see page 25).

Culture and Education

USIA policy, in the eyes of many of its senior foreign service officers, is too short-range, too crisis-oriented. Unlike the British and the French, to name two frequently cited examples, the U.S. has not developed long-range cultural programs which go forward irrespective of the immediate problems of the day. Too much of USIA's vigor is devoted to extinguishing brush fires, not enough to erecting permanent relationships.

Many feel that we have missed the boat most conspicuously on the cultural front, and that we merely pay lip service to that effort. Our laxity in coupling the country's cultural resources to USIA's mission—by arranging conferences, seminars and similar exchanges between teachers at both the university and secondary school level, and in otherwise utilizing such talents as museum directors, pace setters in the arts, leading lights of the theater and the musical world—is a subject of repeated criticism by officers both in Washington and abroad.

Three of their recommendations the Commission finds worthy of particular mention:

1. The establishment of Chairs of American Study in foreign universities. While it may in some cases take years to

secure such Chairs, once established, they may be expected to pay dividends indefinitely. In that connection, USIA also should encourage the availability of American texts and other books of academic interest, perhaps through subsidization to bring their cost within student range.

2. A serious weakness in the cultural field has been USIA's inability to attract significant numbers of notable Americans to foreign soils. One solution to this problem might be in recruiting such men and women for sabbatical "cultural residencies" around the world—perhaps under a program funded by private foundations. The artist abroad, the scholar abroad, the writer abroad, could reside either in the Embassy or outside it, but, from whatever base, would spend his year in constructive contact with artistic colleagues of the host country.

3. Hundreds of speakers should be recruited each year to speak to a variety of subjects around the world. We have not begun to supply—and take advantage of—the demand that exists today.

In the developing areas USIS programs cannot avoid being involved as much with education as they are with information. This frequently means marshaling all an Embassy's resources (e.g., the attaches from the Departments of Labor, Agriculture, Commerce, Health, Education and Welfare, etc.) as well as resources in Washington to construct information programs and materials and to offer ideas directly relevant to the country's interests and problems.

Progress in the areas of culture and education is difficult to pinpoint on a year-to-year basis, and the influence of our efforts cannot be gauged immediately. Yet it is these basic considerations that supply perspective in a rapidly changing world, and that help develop a constancy in our overseas relationships. They deserve greater priority in USIA's program planning.

Exchange

The people of foreign countries continue to express a keen interest in and avid thirst for information about American education, science and culture, about technology and the arts, about its business developments, its labor movements and its social programs, and about research and development under way in universities, in industry, in government and in foundations². This is a

² For examples of foreign service officer comment on effectiveness of the exchange program, see Appendix, page ii.

continuing story that will require continued coverage in depth. And it is a story—trends, developments, personalities and issues—that should be told with professional skill. The prodigious efforts being expended in the U.S., the many imaginative innovations associated with and produced under conditions of free inquiry in a free society by all these disciplines, must somehow be made known to the peoples of the world.

But even more effective than asking USIA to tell this story through media is to invite selected foreign citizens and leaders to come and observe, and to facilitate their observations in every possible way. In commenting on the exchange of persons program, one experienced Ambassador said that whereas at present he receives two or three leader grantees a year, he could use 50 to 100. The policy of reducing leader grantees is tragically mistaken, he said, and has seriously hurt and impeded the U.S. interest. "We must," he continued, "bring the ears of the makers of foreign public opinion to our country, close to its sounds. For it never fails. When people come to the U.S. they are different. The U.S. just cannot be conveyed as well by the mass media."

Those times in which the U.S. encounters difficulty abroad because of unpopular policies or distortions of our purpose are precisely the times to redouble our efforts. We are in such times

now. This Commission joins the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs in its persistent plea that the size and quality of this program be increased.

Libraries and Information Centers

This Commission has repeatedly underscored the importance of USIS libraries and information centers, which in addition to their content represent a physical embodiment of the U.S. abroad. We consider misguided the Congressional sentiment—and Agency compliance—which has closed so many.

Neither USIA nor the Congress has yet learned the seriousness of the loss we incur in erasing so many years of personal effort and financial investment. The library becomes the forum for multiple dialogues between official and unofficial America and a cross section of a foreign society—its students, workers, correspondents, teachers, businessmen and, perhaps more important, its dreamers and seekers after new knowledge and new information. It is urgent that we not be cut off from so valuable an avenue of constructive communication.

Yet we increasingly are. Worldwide attendance and circulation figures of USIS libraries since 1955 demonstrate the effect of our continued pullback in this area:

Fiscal year	Attendance	Circulation
1955	31,244,762	10,919,556
1956	28,339,594	11,352,824
1957	27,327,132	8,743,930
1958	28,171,425	9,482,562
1959	25,519,268	7,892,621
1960	25,847,160	8,007,853
1961	27,789,671	7,734,098
1962	23,583,556	6,720,179
1963	23,517,145	6,724,674
1964	24,062,167	6,433,723
1965	23,958,678	5,604,907
1966	20,173,986	4,786,140
1967	19,601,409	4,812,677

But the trend continues. Information centers in Japan were among 1967's budgetary casualties.

Indigenous Organizations

There is a need to strengthen and support those organizations indigenous to a host country³ which in USIA's judgment

³ As an example: *The Nederland-Amerika Instituut in The Netherlands, with a central headquarters in Amsterdam and chapters in four cities. Founded in 1945, its purpose is to "further goodwill and to promote better understanding between the United States and The Netherlands, and to achieve this goal in close cooperation with other organizations."*

identify with the United States and promote its objectives and interests. We have many friends in this framework. In many countries and in certain situations they can perform the information job better than USIS. The existence of such organizations and societies is so important that, where they do not now exist, every effort should be made to create them.

A distinguished American Ambassador to a Latin American country was quoted recently on the challenge facing every Embassy. "An Ambassador's job," he said, "is to open a mutually advantageous dialogue with creative, constructive minds in a society so that the U.S. is identified with political, social and economic progress." Indigenous organizations can help measurably in creating the channels for that communication.

Representation

This Commission again urges the Congress to provide more adequate representation funds. Hand in glove with the work of USIS officers is attendance at luncheons, dinners and extra-curricular entertainments of all kinds; while the PAO is often a guest, he is more often a host. Congressional disregard for our recommendations is reflected in the appropriation figures on page 22. Their message is clear: current expenditures, while inadequate to the increasing level of personal contact recom-

mended in this report, are yet nearly double the amount Congress has been willing to allow (less than \$2 per week per position overseas). The gap has been filled until now from the pockets of our foreign service personnel—a state of affairs that is truly unconscionable.

HISTORY OF USIA REPRESENTATION ALLOWANCES

Fiscal year	Agency request	House allowance	Senate allowance	Final allowance
1955	\$60,000	\$30,000	\$60,000	\$35,000
1956	150,000	35,000	150,000	50,000
1957	250,000	50,000	100,000	50,000
1958	250,000	50,000	250,000	50,000
1959	135,000	75,000	135,000	90,000
1960	135,000	75,000	135,000	90,000
1961	135,000	90,000	135,000	90,000
1962	135,000	100,000	120,000	110,000
1963	135,000	110,000	110,000	110,000
1964	140,000	110,000	110,000	110,000
1965	140,000	110,000	110,000	110,000
1966	120,000	110,000	110,000	110,000
1967	210,000	110,000	110,000	110,000
1968	110,000	110,000	110,000	110,000

NOTE: 1955 was the first year for which the Agency submitted its own appropriation request. Total representation available from predecessor agencies amounted to \$38,064 in 1953 and \$56,551 in 1954.

SUMMARY—ACTUAL REPRESENTATION COST, FISCAL YEAR 1966

Area	Overseas American positions	Reimbursed expenditures	Out-of-pocket expenditures	Total	Percent unreimbursed
East Asia and Pacific	296	\$24,525	\$11,750	\$36,275	32%
Africa	174	20,902	18,178	39,130	46%
Near East and South Asia	225	20,851	19,068	40,248	47%
Latin America	277	21,250	13,970	35,220	40%
West Europe	156	16,564	22,643	39,270	58%
Special Europe	32	2,702	1,955	4,657	42%
Soviet Union and East Europe	24	3,199	1,116	4,115	27%
Total	1,184	\$109,993	\$88,680	\$198,915	45%

Focus

It has become abundantly clear that there can be no uniform worldwide program produced at a central point yet appropriate to the USIA universe. Our approaches must be both multiple and flexible. Programs must be tailored to regions or, in some cases, even to countries, and media support must be tailored to programs.

A first approach will be that for the developed countries, particularly Western Europe and Japan, which will contribute much of the world's political and economic leadership for some time. In these areas, with sophisticated and complex communications and educational systems, only a minimal media presence is required. Personal contact is at a premium. The optimum would be (a) a small but top-flight media documentation service supplied with texts and basic materials about U.S. policy, (b) a highly visible cultural presence with emphasis on education, art, science and technology, and supported by first-rate libraries, bi-national centers or information centers, and (c) a doubling or even tripling of the exchange program.

A second is that of the developing countries, particularly in Africa, Latin America and Asia. It is there that a more traditional approach to information, educational and cultural outputs can be employed—and in abundance. The task is made more challenging by the rise in importance of the professional, the educator, and the technician, plus the emergence of those who comprise the service and maintenance industries in many countries bent on coping with the new problems of urbanism, modernization and industrialism. These problems have a common base that is understood around the world. In approaching these carriers of civilization, USIA should make available to them that part of the American experience that applies to their needs, interests and problems. We add the caution that USIA cannot assume that its European experience can be transplanted without modification to the developing countries.

A third: those countries in both the developed and the

developing areas where the metropolitan centers have sophisticated communications and cultural complexes, but in which the rest of the country remains primitive. USIA programs in such situations must be carefully tailored mixtures of the first two approaches.

A not-insignificant fourth is that part of the world beyond what we have come to call the Iron Curtain. USIA access to communist countries remains remote and difficult (with the exception of Yugoslavia, which requires special treatment and special programs). The Commission endorses efforts to reach those peoples by radio. At the same time, it hopes that the Department of State and USIA will continue to press, wherever possible, for increased exchanges of persons, information materials and exhibits.

The problem goes beyond the matter of where USIA directs its audience efforts. It also involves how—a matter discussed by Commissioner Larmon in a letter to the Director:

"Knowing your audience is a fundamental in any advertising, promotion or public relations activity.

"If action must be based on an exact reading of the local situation, then opportunities can be fully exploited only if local responsibility is balanced by local authority, permitting direct, immediate and localized reaction.

"There have been problems over the years in getting this concept clearly recognized. Ted Streibert [the first Director of USIA] sensed this when he created USIA as a local reaction mechanism in terms of each country.

"Maximum authority was in the hands of each CPAO (country public affairs officer) backed by a guidance and support mechanism in Washington.

"The question now is whether or not the principles on which USIA was founded should not be reviewed and reasserted.

"In my talks with the CPAO's there was a feeling that the CPAO's decision-making authority has been gradually eroded. This trend has been increased in the past few years under the guise of efficiency, budgetary control and cost effectiveness studies.

"None of the men with whom I talked questioned that he should be given policy guidance, budgetary limitations and a panel of agency-wide concepts within which to plan his program.

"They all felt, however, that their judgment should be the primary criterion in determining local program operations. If the CPAO fails to meet the grade within this pattern, he should be replaced without delay. In the absence of such action he should not be second-guessed from Washington."

In sum, there is urgent need either to eliminate or reduce substantially the central preparation of materials for a mythical, worldwide audience, to modify substantially the continued Europeanized character of the information, educational and cultural program in non-European areas, and to give additional weight to the experience of USIA's field officers in determining emphasis of particular country programs.

Contracting Out

The Commission recommends that USIA give increasing consideration to the outside contract in accomplishing its programs and purposes. On at least two levels.

The first is the more familiar: bringing in outstanding talent from the private sector to supplement USIA's own resources in producing media materials. This activity should be encouraged and expanded, not only in this country, but also (by USIS) overseas as the Agency shifts from centralized to regional and country-by-country production.

The second is a more ambitious use of the contract prin-

ciple: to place entire programs in the hands of outside, private sector specialists. The Director and his staff associates should give careful consideration to those areas of USIA operation which may be candidates for this type of treatment. The prospect is one they will want to approach with caution, but also one, in our view, that can be considered with promise. While recognizing both hazards and difficulties in such operations, so also do we see the potential yields.

Foreign Journalists

There is an increasing opportunity for USIA to serve an important segment of worldwide opinion making without leaving our shores. There are now almost 800 foreign journalists in New York and Washington (a recent count showed 610 in New York, 160 in Washington), each reporting America back to his homeland by various media, with varying frequency and from disparate points of view. The United States has not kept pace with their sharply increasing numbers (up from about 200 after World War II). It has failed to adequately service, support and facilitate their work.

This responsibility has fallen between the Department of State and USIA, and neither is fulfilling it. State is preoccupied with the American press corps, USIA with newsmen overseas. (USIA does maintain a Foreign Journalists Center in New York, with adequate facilities but an insufficient staff complement.) Not only have the needs of these foreign correspondents been allowed to languish, but a number of missions report that such handling as has been provided has often been inept.

The Government should devise better procedures for facilitating travel, appointments, contacts and backgrounding for those already here, and should seek to persuade others to come to the States. Their accommodation should be the business of personnel who have the experience and ability to bring them into mutually productive contact with both public and private America.

Voice of America

USIA's Voice of America has served this country with conspicuous success for more than 25 years. Its signal strength has improved, its facilities have been strengthened, and its programming, recently revamped, remains constantly under review. USIA's policy of radio program placement on local stations overseas has met with unusual success in many parts of the world. Perhaps just in time.

For the Voice must depend less on short-wave, which has been the mainstay of its past, than on its ability to find local couriers for the future. We do not say that it is time to leave the old behind—VOA must continue to rely on its own facilities to reach the third of the world represented by Eastern Europe, the U.S.S.R. and Communist China—but that the new must increasingly be tried. The reason, of course, is the transistor revolution which has put low-cost, highly mobile radio sets within reach of large populations hitherto incapable of receiving radio signals. And where the transistor leaves off, the integrated circuit stands in line to take over. Technologically speaking, the VOA must be geared for change.

And in other ways. Two come immediately to mind.

First. While news from America will always remain in demand—a verity demonstrated repeatedly during periods of international crisis—it will not be VOA's only staple for the future. Rather, the satisfaction of foreign interest in American education, science, technology, culture and the arts will occupy a growing part of the Voice's attention.

Second. The reader will not need the testimony of this Commission to know the impact of the young on the world's society and politics. It is at once immediate and potential: today in new vogues of fashion and thought, tomorrow on all fronts as they assume leadership from their palsied elders. He who would speak to today's young people, in their idiom and their frame of reference, has not only a new world, but a new world of music to take into account. It will be difficult for VOA to be

too contemporary in this regard, and increasingly easy to slip behind the tastes of its audience.

The Commission is pleased to note that the highly successful "Music USA" program has been strengthened in 1967. The ban on the formation of new "Music USA Clubs"—frozen formerly at 1,300—was lifted with the immediate result that, after only two announcements, approximately 300 new clubs were organized around the world. They are tangible evidence of involved listening, and should be encouraged and enlarged.

International Exhibitions

The United States is offered unique opportunities to put its best foot forward before millions in (1) a particular country and (2) the rest of the world through the medium of international exhibitions. Such was Canada's EXPO '67 in Montreal. The Commission commends USIA for the skill with which it made the best of its chance—an opinion shared not only by an overwhelming consensus of international criticism but by most of our countrymen who attended the exposition: an independent survey, conducted in behalf of this Advisory Commission by the Gallup International research organization, showed that approximately four million American adults (3.2 percent of the population 21 years or older) attended EXPO '67, and that among that number more than a third rated the U.S. pavilion "excellent" while another third ranked it "good."

We commend, too, the decision to participate in Japan's upcoming EXPO '70 in Osaka—the first international exposition in the Orient, and a rare opportunity to showcase America in a part of the world which will exercise an increasingly large claim on our future.

Not all international exhibitions call for so ambitious a participation as have the two EXPO's, but many offer similar benefits on smaller scales. Wherever the United States has participated in such activities around the world its efforts have been greeted with both interest and enthusiasm. The costs are

significant, but so also are the rewards. They reach far beyond the immediate boundaries of a particular fairground.

Management

The direction and management of USIA require men with knowledge, ability and experience in public affairs and communications, in foreign policy and international relations, and in executive and administrative skills. No one man will likely have them all. We conclude, therefore, that if the Directorship is filled by a person with substantive knowledge of foreign affairs and communication, he should be supplemented by a deputy with experience in directing operations and administering programs.

The Commission recommends further that there be a deputy in charge of operations to supply continuity and provide top leadership with a source of cumulative experience. Such a deputy—who would be in all cases a career officer but not necessarily the *same* career officer—would free the Director and his first deputy for top level counseling with the executive establishment, for more continuous representation before the Congress, and for trips to the field.

The Commission recognizes the difficulty in coordinating the media and producing multi-media projects and campaigns, in coordinating what the media are doing with what the areas need, and in establishing procedures for communicating more effectively within the Agency in Washington and between headquarters and the field. This is a management problem of the first order. Communications need to be improved up and down the line in order that Agency policy and purpose be shared by all. Because of the size of the organization and the worldwide range of its operations, a gulf often separates top management from the rest of the organization. An agency expert in fostering the communication of ideas among the nations of the world should be adept in exchanging ideas and suggestions among its own.

The Commission is concerned about the swollen staff in

headquarters. There is danger, as a previous Commission said, that USIA Washington is becoming a bureaucracy with so many unexamined routines, controls, restrictions and clearances, and with so much paper production, that administrative arteries have begun to clog and ossification to set in. A deliberate effort should be made to break down the compartmentalization that has characterized headquarters operation. As a relatively small agency, USIA still has an opportunity to prevent the entrenchment of excessive bureaucracy.

Research

The Commission reiterates its view, first advanced at the program's inception in 1948 and continuing until today, that most of the U.S. foreign information programs and policies have not been based on research. Seldom during the past two decades have they been tested by or derived from research inquiries, surveys and investigations. Research continues to be one of the weakest and least supported elements in USIA.

One of the major contributions of the Program Planning and Budgeting System exercise has been in exposing the paucity of Agency research data available for assisting evaluations of programs and activities—for determining whether they are operationally effective and economical. The plain fact is that in too many cases the Agency does not know why it is doing what it is doing. A patchwork research program, together with a lack of appreciation of the importance and usefulness of research in the difficult psychological dimension of foreign opinion and attitudes, remains a principal weakness of the program.

PPBS

In its last report to Congress, the Commission supported the efforts to introduce a Program Planning and Budgeting System in USIA. The intervening months have given no cause to retreat from that position, but they have given rise to some cautions.

These were expressed by a member of the Commission in a letter to the Director:

"The essential requirement of cost-effectiveness studies is that they have a statistical base. With few exceptions, no overseas USIS has that kind of data, nor can it be expected to develop it within existing sources, program priorities and governmental restrictions.

"In many countries research is forbidden.

"USIS is required to produce PPBS results with or without the essential data required. The Agency then proceeds to base policy-making decisions on such results without recognition of their flimsy base. Action precepts, therefore, do not come from data based on facts. The result is neither scientific nor realistic.

"Even in the case of Agency-derived data there is question whether accuracy justifies confidence in the results. Cost per contact, for example, has been figured on a totally different base in the case of VOA programs than IMV [motion picture and television] productions. Criteria shifted from medium to medium, making a program contact mean one thing in one place and something else in another. The result is all too often a guess crossed with a spot of wishful thinking.

"It's highly uncertain whether PPBS provides a valid basis for program decisions in the information field. The time lag in PPBS paper work often makes a valid decision invalid by the time it is formalized. . . . There is primary need in USIA operations to make tomorrow's decisions not later than today. The decision-making process must not be frozen with a formula that imposes a delay in reaction.

"There is a real question whether cost-effectiveness studies can be as valuable in assessing the methods of converting men as they may be in evaluating methods of killing him. . . . The influences that alter attitudes

are less easily evaluated. A man's attitude changes slowly—perhaps repeatedly—and what produces these changes may never be measured.

"While the basic validity of PPBS may be theoretically acceptable, its practical application in the area in which USIS operates may prove to be uneconomical and unwise."

Training

There has been encouraging improvement in the training program in the last year.

The need will continue for courses in communications and executive management for prospective PAO's. Additionally, a sophisticated course in communications should be constructed for prospective Ambassadors. The Commission hopes that experience in foreign information, educational or cultural activities will be given high consideration in the selection of future Ambassadors. More should be done in orienting Ambassadors and political officers in communications and public affairs capability. USIS should consider organizing two- or three-day programs to give the Ambassador and Embassy executive officers thorough exposure to USIA resources, facilities and organizational capability.

Outgoing USIS press attaches should arrange brief training periods in the Department of State Office of Public Affairs, where they can observe senior departmental spokesmen and meet with journalists from newspapers, radio and television.

More use should be made of those experienced officers coming to the end of their careers who, instead of being urged into immediate retirement, could be used in gaming exercises and in emulating realistic situations with junior officer trainees (JOT's). Nor should their accumulated knowledge and insights be lost as they retire. One suggestion is that three- to four-week terminal interviews be held with retiring PAO's, giving them the opportunity to leave much of their experience behind them.

The exchange program also could benefit from a codifying and systematizing of past experience. As Embassy Seoul reported:

"Successful solutions to recurring problems should be more systematically disseminated. After more than two decades of exchanges, a body of experience has accumulated which should be shared among cultural officers. For instance, useful ways of minimizing the language barrier; examples of especially adroit seminar staging; imaginative financial management in binational commissions, and new "follow-up techniques."

The Commission recommends that procedures be designed to tap these accumulated insights and experience and store them as a "corporate memory." Too many PAO's and CAO's take on new responsibilities without knowing about the successes or failures that preceded them.

Finally, the Commission stresses the importance of training mid-career Foreign Service Information Officers about America itself, and affording them periodic opportunity to replant their feet on American soil and regain their feel for the United States.

Personnel

One foreign service officer reports that "The biggest problem during my 25 years was not in finding the right thing to do but in finding the right people to do it." His experience is not unique.

On an overall basis USIA personnel have become increasingly professional during the past 20 years. This professionalism consists of creative and technical skills, an ability to operate among and communicate with foreigners abroad, refinement of the art of persuasion, and an expertise in negotiating the sometimes confining elements and surroundings of an Embassy, in the face of attitudes and conditions which too often have relegated USIS personnel to second-class citizenship.

But many key people, veterans of the information service, are approaching retirement, and there is a need to build a reservoir of new young people. The junior officer trainee program inaugurated in 1954 and the junior management program (JMP) were both designed to recruit and train promising young people. Both have been successful despite the fact that many have resigned (178 of 525 JOT's, 26 of 67 JMP's as of August 1967). Although many of the recruits have been superb, they often suffer a lack of experience which should be remedied by brief tours in U.S. media. There is no substitute for professional training and experience in newspapers, television, press, radio or the academic world. Wherever possible, future JOT's should be sought among those with one or two years of professional experience.

If the Commission's view on the increasing importance of personal contact is sustained by future trends, there will be increasing need for broad-gauged officers able to meet foreign peoples in every walk of life. The specialist will still be needed, but in lesser numbers.

There is need for greater interchange between Department of State and USIA foreign service officers—whose reciprocal tours of service might include time on the policy planning staff, in the media, in the geographic areas and on the research staffs. Too few of State's FSO's look forward to tours of duty in USIA; too many feel this experience does not aid their service record and is not considered important when promotions and advancement are being considered. The conditions which create these attitudes should be corrected.

There is also need for greater interchange of personnel between the media and in the areas—and, in our view, especially important that area personnel have experience in the media.

Response

There is an urgent need in USIA Washington for modernization of its communications system to respond more quickly to special demands for information from around the world. At the

same time, there is a need to reduce the flow of irrelevant material.

The Agency must take cognizance of the extended day in which it operates. Both Europe and the Far East operate hours ahead of us in this regard; Europe from five to eight hours, Australia, for example, up to fifteen hours. While all elements at headquarters cannot operate around the clock, the Agency must be staffed appropriately to see that information and responses reach the field when they are needed. One Ambassador emphasizes that the best of guidance may do no good if it arrives too late for the purpose—a comment underscored by the PAO who termed USIA “still an ox-cart communications operation” in this regard.

But while urgent information seems slow in coming, certain less urgent materials arrive all too quickly—those which ought not appear at all. Many overseas posts, and especially the smaller ones, find the constant internal communications bombardment unending and inundating. The ironic result—many officers are tied to their in-baskets. Both paper and paperwork need to be reduced, less the main task go undone. As one PAO reports:

“The problem of paperwork is really one of quantity. . . . We have just made a three-month survey which shows that five thousand [communications per month] is a minimal average. It is not only the communications from Washington, but there are the letters from the host country nationals, which average about 43% of the total.

“If the post's main job is communicating to the nationals of the host country, which implies a certain amount of guidance or information about the resources from Washington, then it is time that the Agency took drastic steps to curtail the quantity of pieces of paper which the average post must, if not handle, at least move from the in-basket to the out-basket—or the waste paper basket.”

A Career Service

An event of signal importance to the future of United States public affairs efforts abroad occurred in 1967. The Senate passed S. 633, establishing "a category of officers of the United States Information Agency . . . to be known as Foreign Service information officers." That legislation noted further that it was mandating a "permanent career service" for officers of the USIA who would henceforth be accorded "the same rights and perquisites and [be subject to] the same stringent judgment of performance as Foreign Service officers employed under the provisions of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended."

The premature termination of promising careers in the U.S. information, educational and cultural program abroad must not be allowed to grow chronic. The dedicated men and women who have served their country with neither perquisites nor assurance of a career system should no longer be denied what they have for so long deserved. This Commission urges the House of Representatives to take the necessary second step to bring this legislation to the desk of the President.

Domestic Availability

The Commission believes that the American people have a right to know—and their government an obligation to tell them—how the USIA is posturing America before the rest of the world. The 22d Report to the Congress recommended that legislative sanction be given to appropriate inspection of USIA materials on specific request by parties with a legitimate interest—their own or the public's.

The Commission's recommendation became the subject of a Senate amendment sponsored by the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, which, in the words of a subsequent Committee report, sought "to meet this problem [of reconciling inspection of USIA materials with prohibiting USIA from becoming a domestic propaganda agency] by expressly prohib-

iting dissemination of USIA materials, but at the same time providing that such materials shall be maintained in English in a central file which shall be open to public inspection and, on request, made available to Members of Congress."

The amendment failed of passage, but not of contributing importantly to the legislative history on this point. On April 25, 1967, the Chairman of this Commission told the Foreign Relations Committee:

"You would protect the American people from any Government instrument of thought control or coercion. So would we. We would have the American people know how their Government postures itself before the rest of the world. So, I believe, would you. Our difference is on whether these goals are irreconcilable. I am persuaded they are not. And while I would not presume to suggest the language to reconcile them, I do offer my conviction that we can find a common ground."

"Second, it is a paradox that, come face to face with freedom, we so often build walls around it."

"Much of my adult life has been spent in the pursuit of freedom of information, and the defense of it. I hope you will accept my testimony that both missions are difficult ones, and that they can only be secured through a steadfast, unswerving dedication to principle. Thus we cannot say 'We are for freedom, but. . . .' We can only say 'We are for freedom.' So too with freedom of information. We would have you tear down old walls, not build new ones."

"Third, ours is an opportunity to serve the truth."

"Advocacy of the American view is a legitimate instrument of Government policy. But the truth is also an instrument of Government policy, and our country's information program must always be servant to that truth. Someone has said, 'If it is truth, what does it

matter who says it?' To which I would add, 'If it is truth, what does it matter who hears it?'

"Fourth, ours is an opportunity to buttress the Nation's information policy.

"Freedom of information is perhaps the most obvious effect of our recommendation, but it is by no means the only one, nor, in the long run, necessarily the most important. We believe there can be a new candor between nations. More and more, we see the wisdom in addressing a real world rather than one of preconceived slogans, conditioned reflexes and doctrinaire attitudes. The question is, will we step over the threshold? Are we prepared to say to the world, 'Here we are, warts and all. There you are, warts and all. How can we deal with each other?' We believe the Commission's recommendation will help us take that step."

We remain committed to that belief.

The Advisory Commission is on record with a draft amendment to PL 402 designed to accomplish the intent of this recommendation. It follows:

"Section 501 of such Act [PL 402] is amended by striking out the last sentence and inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'The Director of the United States Information Agency shall maintain a complete file in the English language of all such materials in current distribution abroad in the name of the United States Government, which file shall be open to public inspection, and upon request made available to citizens and Members of Congress subject to the following: (1) That all such materials made available within the United States shall be prominently identified as financed and/or prepared by the United States Information Agency, or such other organization of the

Government as may have been responsible for such financing and/or preparation, and shall state that subject materials are intended for distribution overseas; (2) That such materials may not be used for domestic political purposes nor in political campaigns, and (3) That all materials made available under the foregoing shall be subject to fees sufficient to recover incremental costs of production and administrative handling. Further, Any commercially produced book, periodical, pamphlet, reprint, or motion picture, or other material, which has been prepared and/or financed in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, with United States Government funds, shall not be offered for sale, showing, or other distribution within the United States unless conspicuously labelled to disclose the fact of United States Government preparation and/or financing. Further, Nothing in this section shall be construed to permit the United States Information Agency to promote distribution of product within the United States, nor to prepare information product for direction to or distribution among the people of the United States, which activity is expressly prohibited.'"

Additionally, the Commission offers its opinion that the public file which would be authorized by its proposed amendment might appropriately be maintained at schools of international relations or foreign affairs at selected universities about the United States.

Twenty Years Later

It has been the continuing purpose of the Advisory Commission to report critically and constructively to Presidents and the Congress on the information, educational and cultural programs over which it was to keep watch. It has been our particular purpose in this report, twenty years after creation of those pro-

grams, to take a long step back from the trees and a searching look at the forest.

Yet we could not do all that we set out to do; too much lay beyond our resources. We did confirm that it ought to be done—a view not ours alone. The Sprague Committee⁴, which

⁴ Officially, the President's Committee on Information Activities Abroad, under the chairmanship of Mansfield D. Sprague. This was the last of three major overviews of the programs now administered by USIA. The first was conducted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1950-52 (the Fulbright-Hickenlooper hearings). The second was conducted by the President's Committee on International Information Activities—the Jackson Committee, chaired by William Jackson—in 1953. Additionally, USIA has come under consideration by the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements as part of a larger investigation concluded in 1967.

conducted the last full-scale review devoted principally to USIA activities, concluded that "The Committee . . . believes that more frequent independent reviews of the overall balance, interrelations and effectiveness of United States information activities is desirable, perhaps not less than once every three years." That was eight years ago.

It is our earnest recommendation that it be done now. Moreover, we urge that it be done not by an *ad hoc* committee of either legislative or executive origin, but under contract with an organization beyond the government. What should be sought is not only an in-depth critique of what USIA does well and what poorly, but of what it ought be doing and how best it might approach it.

We say it is time to examine assumptions.

Is the United States Information Agency to be but an agent of American "propaganda"? Should it be more than an arm of foreign policy? Are information, educational and cultural objectives compatible within one agency? Were they consolidated

outside of the Department of State, should that body have Cabinet rank? Or should the reins be drawn together within a restructured Department of State⁵? Does the responsibility of

⁵ The Brookings Institution, in a study ("The Formulation and Administration of United States Foreign Policy") released in 1960, offered the model for a reorganized Department of Foreign Affairs comprising three component departments, each with Cabinet rank: the Department of State, the Department of Foreign Economic Operations and the Department of Information and Cultural Affairs.

those who create the foreign policy of the United States go beyond its declaration? Should they have charge of its promulgation as well? Should USIA have a hand in information dispersal for Government agencies beyond the Department of State? Should it play a role in the influence of policy as well as in its execution? Should it help support those private organizations whose overseas activities had been subsidized covertly in the past by the federal government and whose future funding is under study by a committee chaired by the Secretary of State? Do we really intend that USIA work toward "mutual understanding"; is it to help us understand them as well as to help them understand us?

We presume to pose the questions, but not to propound their answers. Our earnest hope is that others will join in the seeking after them.

Finally, we call to the attention of Congress the reality that this Commission, like USIA, is itself 20 years after the fact. The incumbent members feel it timely to suggest that the Congress give similar overview to the role of this body in discharging Congressional intent, and to the question of whether, indeed, it has fulfilled its mission. We submit respectfully to that question.

APPENDIX

I. About the Commission

The United States Advisory Commission on Information is a citizens' commission created by the Congress in 1948, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate to conduct a continuing, independent overview of the United States Information Agency. Its members are Sigurd S. Larmon (1954-), former chairman of the board and president of Young & Rubicam, New York; M. S. Novik (1962-), radio-television consultant, New York; Frank Stanton (Chairman, 1964-), president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, New York; Palmer Hoyt (1965-), editor and publisher of *The Denver Post*, and Thomas Vail (1967-), editor and publisher of *The Plain Dealer*, Cleveland.

Commission business during the past year included a luncheon with members of the Senate and dinner with members of the House. These meetings gave the Commission an opportunity to exchange views with Senators and Representatives on the recommendations contained in the 22d Report to Congress. As a follow-up to the Report's section on freedom of information and the domestic availability of USIA materials, Dr. Stanton appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to testify in support of this recommendation. The Commission also discussed the foreign information program further with Senator Gale McGee of Wyoming and with Representative Dante Fascell of Florida.

The Commission met with President Lyndon B. Johnson for the purpose of discussing the 22d report.

On March 17, 1967, President Johnson announced the appointment of Thomas Vail, editor and publisher of *The Plain Dealer*, Cleveland, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Mrs. Dorothy B. Chandler.

During calendar 1967 members of the Commission and its Staff Director visited U.S. Information Service posts in 20 countries. Mr. Larmon inspected the Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office (JUSPAO) in Saigon and USIS operations in Vietnam; he also examined USIS in Thailand, Israel and Venezuela. Mr. Novik attended the Latin American Cultural Affairs Officers Conference in Costa Rica and visited USIS posts in Italy and Israel. Mr. Hoyt inspected the USIS facility in Jamaica. Mr. Vail visited Great Britain and Italy. And Dr. Stanton visited Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Congo, Zambia, Italy, France and Great Britain.

The Staff Director attended the European Public Affairs Officers Conference in Belgium. He subsequently interviewed Public Affairs Officers in Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, Switzerland (the U.S. mission to the UN, Geneva), Germany, Yugoslavia, Italy and Spain.

There were 11 meetings of the Commission in 1967—8 in Washington, 2 in New York, and 1 in Ottawa, Canada. At these meetings the Commission continued its practice of consulting with the USIA Director, discussing programs and policies with Ambassadors, USIA officers, Public Affairs Officers and other staff personnel and screening motion picture and TV product to keep abreast of USIA's operations and output both at headquarters and in the field.

The meeting in Canada was the first the Commission has held outside the United States. In Ottawa the Commission examined the country program in detail and received briefings on it by USIS personnel from Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal. The Minister and Embassy staff officers briefed the group on current political and economic problems in Canada. From Ottawa the Commission proceeded to Montreal where it previewed the American pavilion in EXPO '67.

The Commission, also for the first time, conducted a review of the USIA program in Mexico. The Public Affairs Officer, the State Department's Country Director and a representative of the Cultural Relations Bureau in the State Department met with the Commission in New York for this purpose.

II. The Exchange Program

The following examples of foreign service officer comment from India, the United Kingdom, Austria, Paraguay and Kenya illustrate the usefulness of the exchange program and demonstrate how it helps open new channels for the United States:

"One of the cumulative effects of all exchange efforts in the past ten years has been to broaden and deepen Indian understanding and appreciation of the United States. American universities are now well respected in India and by far the largest number of Indians who study abroad go to the U.S.

"There is now a large number of Indian journalists who have visited the U.S. When controversial issues develop, they write about the U.S. position with improved understanding. This does not necessarily mean that our policies are supported, but there are usually many comments which reflect an understanding of the con-

text in which our policy has developed and an appreciation of our motives and objectives."

* * *

"Interest in Americanology increases constantly. The following give brief clues to the areas of American life which British scholars, political and opinion-moulding leaders wish to study in the United States under the exchange of persons program:

- 1. More and better schooling, particularly on the secondary school level. More consolidated schools?*
- 2. More progress toward integration. The British press and political leaders have been calm and 'understanding' about Detroit and Newark. They feel that similar incidents can occur in Liverpool and Nottinghill Gate . . . and almost anywhere here.*
- 3. More studies of suburbanization or reurbanization. The British are pioneers in slum clearance and rehousing, but they do wish to know what the U.S. is doing.*
- 4. Full employment. Modernized industry. Mobile manpower. The British know we have our problems in these areas, but they do wish to know how we tackle these problems.*
- 5. The 'peaceful' Americans. And, if that is true, why does it seem that the Americans are so frequently on firing lines in Korea or Vietnam or Santo Domingo or . . . But the British do believe that we are peaceful, or at least peace loving. But still their MP's and political scientists would like to discover why we behave like Americans. And, during 1967-68, because of our national and state and municipal and town elections, they are particularly interested.*

"In brief, in Britain, almost invariably, when a university, a city, an industry, a country is confronted with a problem, the question immediately arises: 'How do the Americans solve it? Or approach it?'"

"Yet as the interest grows, our exchange of persons budget is reduced."

* * *

"Austria, although a neutral country, is unquestionably Western in philosophy, culture, and institutions. The older generation continues to express its gratitude for American post-war recovery aid and political support, and this feeling is manifest in an essentially pro-American attitude. Austrian youth, however, which has

only a dim recollection of the post-war years, is on occasion critical of aspects of U.S. foreign and domestic policies. The increased American involvement in Africa and Asia is often regarded as a sign that the U.S. is turning its back on Europe. The philosophy and standards of American education, and the workings of American economic, social, and political institutions are not always fully understood.

"The educational and cultural exchange programs are an important part of the Post's effort to deal with these doubts and misconceptions. The formerly wide-spread under-evaluation of American cultural achievements has been largely dispelled by the high quality of sponsored cultural presentations in the performing and visual arts. In addition to sponsored programs, the great number of American artists appearing privately in Vienna year after year have further made a significant favorable impression of America's cultural achievement. Educational exchanges of professors, teachers, and students under the Fulbright program have made, and continue to make, long-range contributions to the understanding and reputation of American education. American specialists have been particularly effective in explaining American economic, social, and political institutions and policies. The Austrian leader grantees are in important positions in government, labor, communications, and the arts. Upon returning to Austria they have been most effective in communicating their sympathy and enthusiasm for America to their countrymen. The returnee program perpetuates the reality of the experience in America and nurtures a continuing sympathetic interest in American affairs."

* * *

"Although, on balance, Paraguayans have a favorable attitude towards the United States, a great many of them still harbor many misconceptions about its political and economic systems, its institutions, and its people. While most of the educated Paraguayans admire the American technological and economic progress which has been made during the last half century, some still contend that the United States lags behind in social and cultural development.

"It is difficult to measure the effectiveness of the exchange of persons program over a short period. It is a program of far reaching results, some of which cannot be assessed until several years after the grantees have returned. There are indications, however, that the exchange program is making a significant con-

tribution toward better understanding between the people of the United States and the people of Paraguay. It is believed that it is also acting as a stimulant to the recent increased momentum in the interest in education, cultural and social development and a desire for a higher standard of living for the masses.

"Because Paraguay is a developing country, the International Visitors Program with its 'leader' and 'educational travel' grants is, perhaps, having a more visible impact at this particular time. It permits a greater number of leaders to have first-hand experience in the United States, and although their visits are brief, they often leave lasting impressions. It is notable that most grantees return with the desire to stimulate improvements within their areas of activities.

"For example, one of the strongest impressions shared by returned grantees is the one made by the 'hard-working' Americans. This first-hand experience in the United States helps to dispel the notion held by many uninformed Paraguayans that the United States' economic progress and the high standard of living enjoyed by most of its people are solely results of favorable geographic factors.

"Grantees in all fields of specialization return cognizant of the social and cultural development which has taken place in the United States during the past fifty years. They come back strongly impressed by busy men's interest and participation in community activities, the volunteer workers' role in community development, the American public's interest in the arts, the large number of well attended musical events and the numerous visitors seen at museums."

* * *

"Aside from any technical skills which may have resulted from an exchange program, one can say that a basic result has been the development of a reservoir of goodwill among the Kenyans who have traveled to the United States. The ramifications of this result are obvious to those working in the field and in constant contact with Kenyans, both civilian and in government. The program, in its intent, has focused on those in key decision-making positions and the results are clearly demonstrated in the cooperation shown in developing projects in Kenya which benefit the image of the United States.

"The most valuable aspect of the cultural and educational exchange program in relation to the Post's objectives is sending

Kenyans to the United States . . . many suspicions are removed and many of the false or distorted images found in local media reports receive new interpretations; the standard of living is immediately admired; the freedom of speech and the right to criticize are recognized; the hopes of the government in the area of civil rights are directly felt, and the industrial development resulting from scientific knowledge and hard work are deeply impressive. Thus, along with the technical skills and project ideas a Permanent Secretary, for example, brings back with him, he also carries with him a new image of America, one that he has developed and seen for himself. The basic result, therefore, is improved relations with members of the American Mission which in turn results in increased cooperation in day-to-day operations in the field."

III. The Director's Letter

The USIA's response to the recommendations of the Advisory Commission is conveyed each year by letter from the Director to the Chairman, and is incorporated into the Commission's subsequent annual report. The following represents the Agency's position on recommendations advanced in the 22d Report, issued February 1967:

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

Washington, D.C.

September 1, 1967

Dr. Frank Stanton, Chairman
U.S. Advisory Commission on Information

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN:

During the past several months, I have given considerable attention to the recommendations in the Twenty-second Report of the United States Advisory Commission on Information. Each of the recommendations made by the Commission has been studied in detail by the sections affected and reviewed by me.

At the outset, I want the Commission to know that I am heartened by your praise of our efforts and gratified at your recognition of the need for an explanation of the existing program service. I want to assure you that we are aware of the importance of our mission and the heavy responsibility which we bear in attempting to relate American domestic and foreign policy to overseas audiences.

Now, I would like to offer the following comments on the specific points made by your Commission:

1. You recommend the appointment of a permanent Deputy Director chosen from within the career Civil Service or Foreign Service to provide a continuity of management as high-level personnel change periodically.

In 1964 Congress provided for two Deputy Directors—one appointed by the President and the other a career officer. These are permanent positions and have been filled by the type of individual which you describe.

From the time the legislation was passed in 1964 to date, there have been only two Deputy Directors—one held the position for four and one-half years and the present incumbent for two years.

Moreover, the Deputy for Policy and Plans has always been a career officer and incumbents have held the position for substantial periods of time.

It is my opinion that these two positions meet your objectives. Accordingly, I do not share your view that there should be any additional officer assigned for management responsibility.

2. You also refer to the past practice of assigning Foreign Service Officers to geographic areas with which they have limited knowledge. During my term of office, I have attempted to build up a corps who would specialize in particular areas such as you describe—an Arabic corps, a Slavik corps, an African corps, an Asian corps, a European corps, a Latin American corps. Wherever possible we are now assigning officers to those areas in which they have developed a particular expertise and where their language aptitudes can be used profitably. Because of the need for rotation of officers and transfer to the United States at periodic intervals, it is not always possible to assign personnel to areas in which they have developed particular expertise. Nevertheless, I agree with your concept, support your objectives and am attempting to fulfill them.

3. You recommend the production of information materials tailored to fit local needs. This is a concept with which I thoroughly agree. We strive to meet this requirement and have made great progress in this direction.

Currently, we are publishing 66 magazines for specific countries. For example, in India *Span* has a circulation of approximately 100,000 and the *American Reporter* has a circulation of 400,000 solely within that country. We also produce *American Review*, directed to the Indian cultural and intellectual community. Similarly, in Russia, we publish *America* magazine directed to the Russian audience, and another edition of that publication for the Polish audience. Our activities in other countries are directed along the same lines; the effort to meet local needs will be continued.

4. I share your enthusiasm for our program of English Teaching. Last year, about 300,000 persons studied English through USIS-sponsored pro-

grams. In addition, a large audience had the opportunity to study the English language through radio programs broadcast by the Voice of America or over local stations through VOA-supplied tapes. Three series of television programs, "Let's Learn English," "Let's Speak English," and "Adventures in English" have been distributed in 63 countries. It is my objective to emphasize this aspect of our activity in all under-developed areas.

5. Similarly, I share your enthusiasm for recruiting and training Women's Affairs Officers to serve in countries where women's groups are actively participating in society or in emerging societies where this trend is now evident. We have under consideration at this time the addition of a Women's Affairs Officer in several countries.

6. I note you suggest that we consider a publication which would "deal with democracy, modernization and nation building" as a companion publication to *Problems of Communism*, which you commend so highly.

It is my view that these subjects are treated constantly in various USIA publications and that a single publication devoted to these subjects would not be as effective as the placement of specific articles in many publications which would reach a much larger audience. A specialized publication would have a very restricted appeal and could only reach a limited audience. You can see that our present system enables us to reach many more people with significant information on these vital topics.

7. You point out the necessity of providing opinion-forming groups with information on the free labor movement in the United States and on the progress of free labor organizations around the world. I support this objective.

We have at present a full-time Labor Information Officer in the Office of Policy, and similar officers in our posts in Japan, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Bogota, Montevideo and Caracas. I have stressed the importance of disseminating labor information and the need for highly-trained officers to carry out the mission. Currently, I am in the process of recruiting an additional Labor Information Officer and will seek others as opportunities arise and our budget permits.

8. I share your enthusiasm for the work being carried on by the Binational Centers, particularly in Latin America as referred to by Ambassador Charles W. Cole in his report to me from which you quote.

To encourage the development of these institutions, last year I authorized the expenditure of \$332,000 to assist in the improvement of physical facilities in seven countries. This year I have requested an authorization of \$1 million for this purpose.

To assist in the recruitment of qualified persons as directors of these centers, I am converting these positions from contract status to that of regular employees. I believe that this action will attract more able young

people and will keep in our service those who have recently been recruited and who have performed so admirably.

9. You comment on our libraries and recommend that the percentage of books in the language of the host country be at least 50% and preferably 75%. It has not been possible in the past to reach this level but we are currently adding to our library shelves more books in the languages of the country. Progress is slow since there are not enough suitable books available in translation. For the most part we are dependent upon the translations we sponsor ourselves.

Moreover, I have recently created a committee of distinguished scholars to recommend 250 or more titles of "Great American Classics" so that all of our libraries and reading rooms may have this basic collection. I am confident that it will prove of great value throughout the world and will lift the level of reading material for these scholars who are seeking a wider knowledge of American history, social and political science, culture, drama, and scientific accomplishments.

During the past year we have also completed a program of displaying classic American art in all of our libraries through the use of high quality lithographs. At this date, approximately 100 libraries in 76 countries have participated in the program.

10. I note your comments about the need for a vigorous information program in Western Europe and for an expansion of our European programs for youth which should be centered around libraries.

I have previously reported to your Commission my desire to expand our information effort in Western Europe. In a recent appearance before the Senate Appropriations Committee, I placed these views in the *Record* and testified to the need. In our budget request for Fiscal 1969 an expansion of this program will be sought.

11. You advocate the installation of equipment which would become "a corporate memory." A program of this nature has been started and a computer has been installed for our administrative records. We plan on an expansion of this computer service to include substantive material such as you describe.

12. I concur in your suggestion that our training program is basic to the Agency's operations. You note that I have appointed a new Director of Training and have given him full support for a drastic revision in this effort. Although insufficient time has elapsed to note the full effect of such changes, I am heartened by the progress which has been made.

13. You recommend that the Agency "renew its contacts with the academic community, rekindle its interest and invite its suggestions, reviews and commentaries." I subscribe to this philosophy and have constantly endeavored to achieve this result.

14. You suggest that the inspection program be broadened to include civilian review of Agency operations. Towards this end, I have appointed prominent private individuals as Public Members of inspection teams. Between now and the end of the year, five additional Public Members will be assigned to inspection teams. We have received numerous benefits from such individual appraisals. The program will be expanded as conditions permit.

15. You suggest a formulation of a ten-year program culminating in the celebration of the American Bicentennial in 1976. I have not yet done so because of more urgent and immediate problems. Hopefully, I can give serious consideration to this suggestion next year.

The above comments on the principal suggestions made in the chapters of your report entitled, "*Recommendations for Action by the USIA.*"

In addition, you propose to Congress that legislation be adopted for a career service for the U.S. Information Agency. I continue to advocate such legislation and am currently awaiting hearings on Administration-sponsored legislation for this purpose.

Finally, you also suggest that Public Law 402 be amended so that the "American taxpayer should no longer be prohibited from seeing and studying the product a government agency produces with public funds for overseas audiences." I have testified before congressional committees that:

1. I have no objection to making any of our products available for inspection. We have nothing to hide and are indeed proud of our efforts.
2. However, I do not wish to take the initiative in requesting any funds for the dissemination to *United States citizens* of books, pamphlets, films or radio broadcasts prepared under our auspices. If Congress should authorize such, we shall gladly cooperate.

In the concluding portion of your report you recommend to Congress and the President that additional funds be allocated for future Agency operations. I concur and as previously stated will request such in our submission to the Bureau of the Budget for Fiscal 1969.

These comments are designed to acquaint you with my thinking on the very significant problems which you have outlined and to report on specific projects which are underway to meet the objectives that you have so ably described. Our principal officers and I have greatly benefited from the careful consideration which your Commission gives to our program. We welcome the close relationship which exists and will strive to maintain and justify your confidence in our program.

Sincerely,

LEONARD H. MARKS
Director